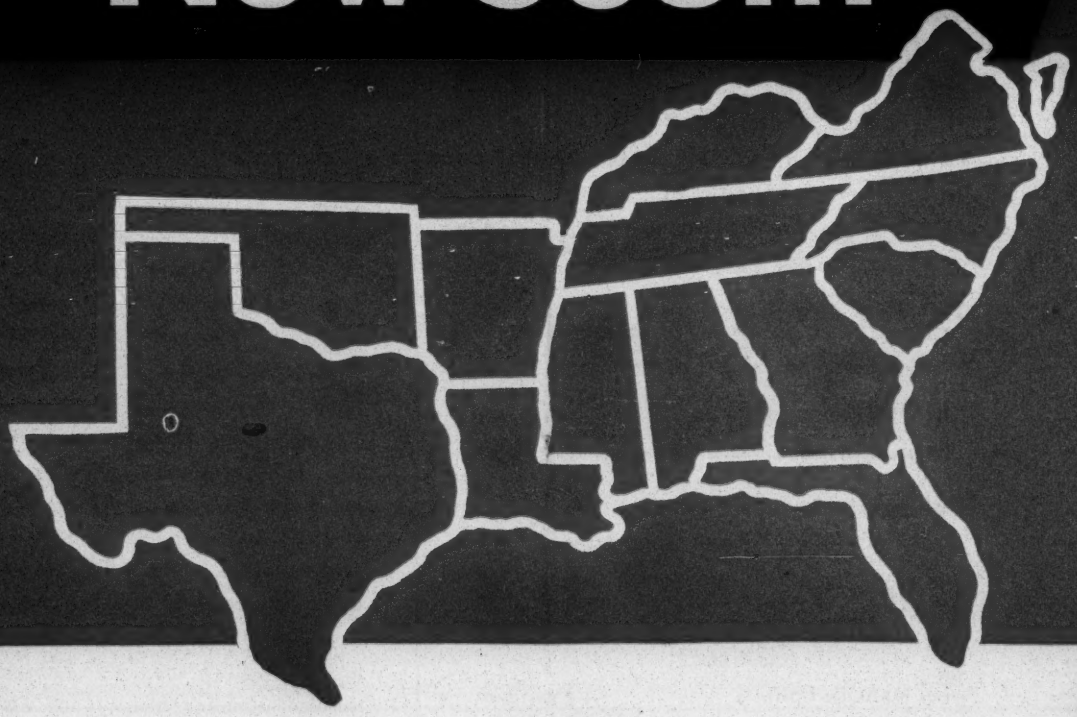
New South



- Migration and Desegregation
- What Each One of Us Does
- Editors Discuss Private School Plan
- Highlights from Recent Literature

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New South

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New South Notes

Population shifts are taking place all over the country. Rural areas are being depleted of population while urban centers are growing rapidly. NEW SOUTH this month gives readers some of the trends in population shifts and what these trends mean to desegregation. The article, prepared by the Research Department of the Council, is presented under the title, "Migration and Desegregation."

Alexander Miller, Director Community Services, Anti-Defamation League, recently wrote to the *Christian Science Monitor* a letter in which he discusses group tensions and the understanding it takes to preserve community harmony. In his letter, he includes another letter from Mrs. Doris Bodenheimer which, in Mr. Miller's opinion, expresses the understanding, charity, and wisdom needed today.

Much has been and will be written on the so-called private school plan. Recently, the *Richmond News Leader*, noted for its strong segregationist's viewpoint, severely criticized the pamphlet, "If the Schools Are Closed . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan." This editorial is reprinted in full here along with two others with somewhat different opinions. The other editorials were originally published by the *Lynchburg News* and the *Arkansas Gazette.*

This issue of NEW SOUTH concludes with another in the frequent offerings of "Highlights from Recent Literature."

Migration and Desegregation

The size and composition of the population of any city with biracial school systems is one of the principal factors affecting school desegregation. The relative difficulty that a particular school district may face is, to a great extent, determined by the number of students involved in the transition.

Population trends in the South have, therefore, a special meaning for school desegregation. Here is what is happening:

1. Population in rural areas is declining. Negroes and whites are moving to urban regions, both North and South. The Negro rate of departure was higher than that of white persons between 1940-50 and perhaps has remained higher; but the difference is slight. Probably a larger number of the white migrants stop in Southern cities. On the other hand, the larger family size of the Negroes means that the Negro rural school-age population stays larger than would be expected.

   Rural schools are emptying while city schools are being over-crowded. Rural school children must often travel far to attend segregated schools. Children attending these schools come from scattered and sparsely populated areas, as a result of the decreasing rural population. If schools remain segregated, we can anticipate a growing number of half or nearly empty schools.

   How dramatic has been the population shift from rural to urban residence is indicated by the fact that in the school year 1956-57 there were *fewer* white children enrolled in the rural schools of nine Southern states than there had been in 1939-40; these nine were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas. In six states there were *fewer* Negro children enrolled: these were Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee. During the same years, enrollments of both Negro and white children in the schools of metropolitan areas climbed sharply. White enrollment in the metropolitan schools of Kentucky increased 34%, and Negro enrollment in the metropolitan schools of Mississippi rose 23%: these were the *lowest* increases in the whole region. The highest metropolitan increases for white children were in Florida (where enrollment jumped 165% in the 18-year period), Texas (137%), Virginia (119%), and Mississippi (101%). The highest metropolitan increases for Negro children were in Texas (137%), Florida (106%), Louisiana (67%), and Georgia (62%).[1]
2. State population increases tend to

[1]From statistics prepared by Dr. John A. Griffin for *Southern Schools: Progress and Problems*, published by the Southern Education Reporting Service, 1959.

Migration

(Continued)

be concentrated in urban areas. For example, since 1920, population growth in Georgia has occurred largely in five urban areas—Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon and Savannah. In this 36-year period, the proportion of the state's population in these centers almost doubled, rising from 22.4% in 1920 to 41.5% in 1956. While the state's population increased 7.8% from 1950 to 1956, the population of 115 of Georgia's 159 counties actually declined.[2]

3. As migrants from the rural areas move into cities, the middle and upper economic class whites are receding into surburbia. This tends to intensify and cause deterioration of the already congested central city. If this trend, which is evident in both segregated and desegregated centers, should continue, it is probable that residents of the city proper will tend to be chiefly Negroes and lower economic group whites. Furthermore, it is conceivable that Negro children will eventually constitute a greater proportion of the total city school enrollments than white children.

   Atlanta furnishes our illustration of this trend. For the school year 1959-60, Negro enrollment was *up 3,202* over the previous year; white enrollment was *down by 1,272*. The current ratio was 57.9% white, 42.1% Negro; in September 1958, it had been 60.6% white, 39.4% Negro.

   The following figures show that in a representative sample of the South's principal *cities*, the nonwhite percentage of the total population increased, or only slightly decreased, from 1940 to 1950.[3] All the preliminary evidence indicates that in the 1950's the exodus of middle and upper-economic class whites from the cities to the suburbs has accelerated, and that rural migrants, including Negroes, have continued to throng into the cities.

City	% Increase 1940-50 Nonwhite	White	% of Total Pop. Nonwhite Pop. 1940	1950
Atlanta, Ga.	16.1	6.2	34.6	36.6
Birmingham, Ala.	19.4	23.5	40.7	39.9
Charleston, S. C.	—2.8	— .5	44.6	44.0
Charlotte, N. C.	19.4	38.9	31.1	28.0
Houston, Texas	45.2	57.9	22.5	21.1
Jackson, Miss.	65.7	53.4	39.1	40.9
Nashville, Tenn.	15.6	— .4	28.3	31.4
New Orleans, La.	21.9	12.5	30.3	32.0

4. Although the Negro population is shifting from predominantly rural to predominantly urban, the ratio of Negroes to whites in *metropolitan areas* declines. The 1940 to 1950 nonwhite percentage of the total population of the metropolitan areas of the same eight cities illustrates this decline; in only one of the eight has the nonwhite ratio increased.

[2]John L. Fulmer, *Population Estimates of Georgia Counties for 1956-1957 with Analysis of Reasons for Changes from 1950.* Special Report No. 33, with Industrial Development Branch of the Engineering Experiment Station, Georgia Institute of Technology, 1957, pp. 5, 14, and 18.

[3]Figures in this table and in the next one are taken from a report by the Federal Housing Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, Market Analysis Section, August 15, 1953.

City	% Increase 1940-50 Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite Pop. % of Total Pop. 1940	1950
Atlanta, Ga.	15.6	35.0	27.7	24.7
Birmingham, Ala.	16.4	24.8	39.0	37.3
Charleston, S. C.	14.7	56.9	49.2	41.5
Charlotte, N. C.	15.4	35.5	28.5	25.4
Houston, Texas	44.5	54.5	19.7	18.7
Jackson, Miss.	15.3	51.0	51.7	45.0
Nashville, Tenn.	13.5	28.4	22.1	20.0
New Orleans, La.	25.5	23.5	28.9	29.3

Another comparison can be made by examining more closely recent changes in Atlanta. The standard metropolitan area of Atlanta was enlarged by one county in 1956 and by another in 1958; it now includes five counties. For these five, the Negro population *increased* 20.4% from 1900 to 1959; but, the proportion of Negroes to the total population of these counties *declined*, from 33.6% in 1900 to 22.1% in 1959. In the city of Atlanta itself, the proportion of Negroes was, as is shown in the above figures, increasing. In 1952 and 1953, however, the climb was arrested when the city annexed large outlying areas which were mainly white in population: had these sections been part of Atlanta in 1950, the Negro proportion of the city's population would have been, not 36.6%, but only 31.2%. Yet, by 1959 the Negro population within the present city limits of Atlanta had *risen* to 36.5%.[4] And the Atlanta experience is illustrative of that of many cities throughout the South. It includes, as it were, three movements: heavy increase of Negro population; steady decline of the proportion of Negroes to total population in the metropolitan area; a stable or increasing proportion of Negroes within the city proper.

5. Emigration from the South as a whole is going on at a slightly faster rate than immigration into the South. Most emigrants from the South are in the productive age group from 21 to 45, and as a result, net migration losses are not proportionately felt in school enrollments.

Even without considering school desegregation, these trends have important implications for the South's educational system. The gravity of this situation becomes evident as one looks at the growing school enrollments and the existing inadequate facilities with which to cope with them. In this regard, Professor John M. Maclachlan wrote:

> . . . it seems clear that the approaching educational crisis in the South may be one of the gravest proportions, without any regard to changes in the legal basis of biracial education in the region. The first and most basic consideration is that there will be in the South, by 1960, [compared with 1950] almost one-third more white and over one-third more nonwhite persons of school age.[5]

If these estimates are fairly accurate, one can immediately perceive the gigantic task facing the schools. Herculean efforts will be needed to build new schools, provide adequate classroom facilities, secure additional teachers, and strengthen the overall school program to accommodate the growing army of

[4]Metropolitan Planning Commission, *We're Feeling Like a Million*, Atlanta 1959. p. 4.

[5]John M. Maclachlan, "Population Factors Affecting Education in the South," *Journal of Public Law*, Spring 1954, pp. 114-115.

Migration

(Continued)

school children from many varied backgrounds. Between 1940 and 1950, in the 13 states of the South, the white population between 10 and 19 *declined* more than 397,000; the nonwhite population between ages 10 and 19 *declined* more than 220,000. The statistics on population increases from 1950 to 1960 make a stronger impact, as Professor Maclachlan says, "when one pauses to reflect that one of the most serious problems of the late 1940's and early 1950's was a relentless increase in the need for schools and teachers," despite the school-age population drop.

In addition to the economic problems created by recent population trends, problems of a cultural and academic nature are also of considerable consequence. The "hub" of the city, into which comes the masses from the rural areas, houses the lower socio-economic groups, both white and colored. For the present and for the next few years at least, the best possible school administration and teaching will be necessary even partially to fill in the gaps that are the result of inferior environments. As Professor Homer L. Hitt has said, "To a large degree the future of southern cities and thus the quality of life in the South will depend on the contributions of the newcomers to the urban scene."[6]

Counterbalancing forces are gradually coming into play which will perhaps change the direction of recent population trends. First of all, urban renewal: hundreds of cities are currently attempting to do away with the blighted areas surrounding their central business districts. The blighted areas are being replaced by business establishments and frequently by high rent apartments beyond the incomes of the previous inhabitants of these areas. Secondly, the exodus from the rural areas has almost reached its climax. Thirdly, practical considerations will almost inevitably necessitate the reduction of some discriminatory housing practices. On these last two points, Irene B. Taeuber, of Princeton University, expresses the following opinion:

> To project the migrations of the past into the future is impossible, for the sources of supply in the rural South are approaching exhaustion. To project a continuing exodus from the South and a continuing mobility in the metropolis without the reduction of residential segregation leads to results that are not consonant with real possibilities. Continually declining white populations and rapidly increasing Negro populations would lead eventually to the transfer of political power in the central cities and so terminate the segregation.[7]

Whether all or some of our schools desegregate in the future, today's school crisis calls for and demands cooperation and community organization. Our schools may operate on an efficient level but only if school board members, administrators, teachers, parents, community leaders, and other responsible persons are willing to apply the most feasible and workable solutions.

It seems apparent that many school

[6]R. B. Vance and N. J. Demerath, editors, *The Urban South*, Chapel Hill, 1954, p. 77.

[7]Irene B. Taeuber, "Migration, Mobility, and the Assimilation of the Negro," *Population Bulletin, November* 1958, p. 149.

districts are reaching that situation where segregation becomes immediately costly: i.e., where populations have shifted, leaving unused school capacity in one place, overcrowded school capacities elsewhere. The impact of recent population trends require that schools fulfill their primary objective—the development of the individual and of his potentialities in order that he may become a mature, participating member of our democratic society.

What Each One of Us Does*

Most of the cities in the United States have experienced a sharp rise in group tensions during the past few years. As a matter of fact, in many urban centers we are only a misdirected stone's throw away from ugly racial strife and mob violence. This situation is due in no small part to the unfortunate proclivity of too many of us to hold a whole group responsible for the actions of an individual. The antisocial traits ascribed to an entire minority group because of the actions of some individual members of the group are too well known to *be* rehearsed here.

How different has been the reaction of Mrs. Doris Bodenheimer of Houston, Texas. She is the anguished mother of a 12-year-old boy who was brutally slain recently by a gang of young delinquents. It so happens in this instance that the victim was white—those arrested, Negro. Writing with a deep compassion which blotted out all bitterness, Mrs. Bodenheimer penned the following letter which was printed in the Houston Post on Aug. 1, 1959:

"Since my son's death I have been largely sustained by the sincere sympathy of the whole community, but the attitude on the part of some has alarmed me. I have felt from the beginning that some abstract evil force had killed my son. The person or persons responsible is ill and to find a scapegoat will not absolve society from its share of guilt.

"People who are oppressed and deprived by society hit back. Finding my son's murderer will not keep alive some child who now lives—more murderers will be bred by the conditions which bred his murderer.

"As long as we foster the sickness of slums and segregation we shall all be infected by it.

"This is not to say that I am convinced of the guilt of current suspects, but merely that the anger directed against them would be put to better use if turned toward those conditions which breed crime."

If more of us could achieve the understanding, wisdom, and charity displayed by Mrs. Bodenheimer; if her words can provide us with a guidepost for community action, there is hope that much of the racial strife which seems to be threatening can be averted. For in the last instance, the responsibility for working out our problems of living together peacefully falls not upon government, not upon organizations, but upon what each one of us does as an individual.

Alexander F. Miller
Director Community Services,
Anti-Defamation League
New York, New York

Reprinted from Christian Science Monitor

EDITORS DISCUSS PR

Why It Will Work

The Richmond News Leader

Two professors of education at Emory University, Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke, have produced a 40-page pamphlet for the Southern Regional Council, entitled "If the Schools Close." Here the authors review various proposals in Southern States for the establishment of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools.

"They dismantle the private school plan completely," says *Time* magazine, reporting on the pamphlet. And *Time* adds that the authors "prove" such schools will not work.

One or two things need to be said before this "proof" is rebutted. The first is that the pamphlet comes from the soft-headed Southern Regional Council, a Liberal outfit dedicated to the integrationist cause. The second is that the two authors are professors of education, with a vested interest in the public school system and an understandable prejudice in favor of its perpetuity. It would have been incredible if such authors, under such auspices, had produced a pamphlet that said anything else.

The authors' first objection to private schools goes to their costs. On this point, they observe that Georgia's public schools buy supplies on a State-wide basis, benefit from State-wide administrative services, and draw upon $28 million in Federal aid. A system of private schools, by contrast, could not make use of State buildings and "could not begin to pay for new buildings." Private schools could not afford qualified teachers, they contend, nor maintain an enriched curriculum. In brief, "a system of private schools . . . is unworkable, legally, socially, and economically."

What is to be said of these melancholy strictures, especially as they might apply to private schools in Virginia? Simply this, that the two theorists have no comprehension of certain realities. The authors, like educationists the country over, are accustomed to think in terms of nothing-but-the-best; they see large and grand, not small and homely; their vision is of thousands of pupils and millions of dollars. And their case boils down to "proof" of a proposition not even in dispute—that a vast system of private schools, equal in every way to public schools that have been 80 years in development, could not possibly spring into efficient operation overnight.

Such proof may be impressive, but it is hardly relevant to the problem at hand. Not even the sovereign State of Georgia, whatever her laws may require just now, ever will close *all* of her

(Continued on Page 12)

VATE SCHOOL PLAN

Why It Won't Work

The Lynchburg News
Reprinted from Warren Sentinel

Consider this, if you will, a response to the editorial bowl of mush served up last week by the illustrious Richmond News Leader. Reprinted elsewhere on today's page, that editorial solemnly recites crusty fables, takes stiff jabs at popular whipping boys, Time magazine and "liberals," and to the tune of carefully metered prose proudly raises the Confederate flag.

As much as one would like to indulge in flights into a southern fairyland, the time has come for Virginians to face, squarely, the facts at hand. While one may wish so very strongly for segregated classes to succeed, one must peel the patina of wish from the statue of hard reality.

Written in the angry tones of a Captain Queeg facing mutiny, the News Leader editorial states that private schools set up in certain areas of Virginia to avoid public school integration are quite workable, contrary to the findings of a thorough study prepared by two professors at Emory University for the Southern Regional Council.

Among other interesting facts reported by Professors Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke in their study, facts conspicuously absent from the News Leader editorial, was the comparative cost of private and public education. A survey of the Atlanta area disclosed that the average per pupil cost of a year's schooling in public facilities was $265 while the average for private facilities was a whopping $625. It was the contention of the professors that cost alone would ultimately prohibit the bulk of southern white students from avoiding integration by attending private classes.

Like it or not—and this newspaper does not like it any more than the Richmond News Leader—it is a reasonable contention. Moreover, its soundness can be demonstrated right here in Virginia where both Prince Edward and Warren counties are having trouble raising money for their private school efforts. Warren County has postponed a decision on operating private classes to determine whether a needed $140,000 can be collected. Prince Edward County admits that it will take $300,000 to operate private classes for white students this year, but those in charge of the private school foundation funds will not say exactly how much has been collected.

These figures of funds needed to operate private schools are not hazy myths rooted in an era long ago. They are, quite simply, matters of definite fact. Yet in speaking of Professors Green and Gauerke, the News Leader called them "two theorists (who) have no comprehension of certain realities."

Won't Work *(Continued)*

What reality could be more certain than Prince Edward's private school budget of $300,000? Or Warren County's goal of $140,000?

Further, what reality could be more certain than the pictures on this page? Here are the private schools that Prince Edward's white citizens will operate this year. Here are the public facilities they will abandon. Below is the dark interior of an old blacksmith's shop that will be used as a classroom.

How theoretical, we would ask the News Leader, is all this?

Let us raise some further questions:

For how long will the white citizens of Prince Edward County be willing to force these sacrifices on their children?

For how long will they be able to raise enough money to keep these makeshift private classes open?

For how long will the courts and the Federal government permit the county to deny educational opportunities to Negro children?

Forever?

This is not a time chauvinistically to shout States' Rights slogans, but rather a time to shake off fables and wipe the stardust of hopeless dreams from our eyes. It is a time to face facts. Let us hope that this excursion into folly will be a short one for Prince Edward County and that its cost in time, money and education of children will be held to a minimum. Then, let us hope the County reopens its public schools and turns, realistically, to ways to limit the integration that will come.

PRINCE EDWARD

The Arkansas Gazette

. . . This report has drawn an interesting rebuttal from the Richmond News-Leader, the newspaper which proudly sired the now-defunct theory of interposition and beat the drums for legislation authorizing a private school system. Characteristically, the News-Leader begins by attacking the Council as "soft-headed" and the two Emory faculty members as biased by their "vested interest" in public education.

Even so, the News-Leader makes what must be regarded in context as a significant concession to the correctness of the professors' judgment:

> Such proof may be impressive, but it is hardly relevant to the problem at hand. Not even the sovereign state of Georgia, whatever her laws may require just now, ever will close all of her public schools as the price of avoiding integration in any one of them. When rational men talk realistically of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools, they are talking of a small number of private schools serving a small number of children in a small number of counties.

We pass no judgment on how rational a considerable number of the South's political leaders have been in the past two years, and certainly we can agree that they haven't been talking realistically about the region's educational problems. But certainly they have been holding out to their people the hope that they could create private schools on a wholesale basis as a device for evading even token integration—and they have continued to hold out that hope until

it was proved false by the march of local events.

As we have said repeatedly, we know of no legal or moral reason why any group of parents cannot establish a private school tailored to their tastes. But if they do they must be prepared to pay heavily for the privilege—in money if it is to be a first rate institution, or in a reduction of quality if they cannot afford a heavy outlay from their own pockets.

An excellent example may be seen in the only private school system now operating in the South as a substitute for public schools—that in Prince Edward County, Virginia, which the Richmond News-Leader cites as evidence of what it calls the fallacy of the Council's report. Yet the News-Leader's own polemics would seem to pinpoint grave deficiencies.

For example, the newspaper contends that there is no problem of finding competent teachers because Prince Edward is abundantly supplied with competent professionals and "the salaries of Atlanta or Richmond or Washington hold no special appeal for them." In other words, the private schools must pay their teachers well below the going rate and hope that they will remain because of "ties of family and habit"—a hope proved wistful by the whole national pattern of teacher migration.

Moreover, classes must be held in lodge halls, abandoned store buildings, and private homes—with this as a permanent condition since the News-Leader concedes that there is no prospect of raising money from private sources to build modern school plants. But it is contended:

> That is to say, the classrooms will be entirely adequate for Prince Edward County. They would not suit the fluorescent dreams of a professor of education in Atlanta. In these humble schools a tolerably full curriculum will be offered. True, there will not be band, or orchestra, or courses in hair styling for the girls. But the quality of education will be at least as good as the quality of education in the former public schools.

Finally, the News-Leader Proclaims:

> . . . the people of Prince Edward ask nothing of the outside world; they are indifferent to the educationist values that Professor Green and Gauerke count so highly.

Such, then, is the fate of the white children of Prince Edward. They will attend classes in makeshift schoolrooms, they will be taught by underpaid teachers, they will have access only to limited curricula—and their elders will tell them they are fortunate to be immunized against the standards and values of the outside world.

For the Negro children of Prince Edward County there are presently no schools at all—public or private—with all that this implies in terms of social and economic problems for the whole community.

And this is taking place, to the accompaniment of the News-Leader's applause, in the rural South, which has always needed the highest possible degree of "outside" aid to improve the educational opportunities of its children. And it is that same rural South, despite all the great equalization programs of the past, that is still steadily losing population, watching each generation of its children head for the cities in search of those standards and values the News-Leader says the people of Prince Edward have proudly rejected.

Will Work

(Continued from Page 8)

public schools as the price of avoiding integration in any one of them. When rational men talk realistically of private schools as an alternative to integrated public schools, they are talking of a small number of private schools serving a small number of children in a small number of communities.

The Georgia pessimists seem not to understand this. It is easy enough to make out a bleak case for private education if the problem is thought to be one of serving, as in Georgia, 850,000 children now housed in 3,000 schools. The problems are completely different if one is thinking, as in Prince Edward County, of serving 1,500 pupils formerly housed in eight schools.

Professors Green and Gauerke must have lived too long in the city; they seem not to understand a rural county. There is no problem in finding qualified teachers for private schools in a Prince Edward County; in a small county there always will be a sufficient number of competent men and women who are tied to their community by ties of family and habit. The salaries of Atlanta or Richmond or Washington hold no special appeal for them; they enjoy a contented existence where they are.

Neither is the requirement of acceptable school buildings a serious problem in such rural counties. The Prince Edward Educational Foundation, to offer an actual success as opposed to a hypothetical failure, has had an embarrassment of choices. More than a score of suitable church buildings, lodge halls and private homes were offered for private classroom use; from these an entirely adequate selection was made.

That is to say, the classrooms will be entirely adequate for Prince Edward County. They would not suit the fluorescent dreams of a professor of education in Atlanta. In these humble schools, a tolerably full curriculum will be offered. True, there will not be band, or orchestra, or courses in hair styling for the girls. But the quality of education will be at least as good as the quality of education in the former public schools.

The authors of this pamphlet fail to take other factors into account. One is the closeness and unity of a small rural county, in which almost literally everyone knows everyone else. They do not properly appraise the determination of such small societies to preserve their social structure—in plain language, to preserve segregation. They do not comprehend the self-containment of such counties; the people of a Prince Edward ask nothing of the outside world; they are indifferent to the educationist values that Professors Green and Gauerke count so highly.

Private schools can succeed in such areas as Prince Edward—the only areas in which public schools are likely ever to be wholly abandoned. They will succeed because the parents there are determined to make them succeed, and because these parents have at hand the resources necessary for success. These countrymen will not be much impressed by jerimiads from the Southern Regional Council. They no longer are interested in academic reasons why a system of private schools can't work; they are daily finding reasons why it can.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

NAIRO. "CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL: A REPORT ON A DECADE OF PROGRESS." Journal of Intergroup Relations, Vol. 1, No. 5, September, 1959. National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19. $1.50, single copies. 133 pp.

How does social change take place . . . both directed and undirected social change? This volume deals with social change in *one* of the many dimensions of a community's life, in *one* particular American community, during *one* particular and observable period of time. It deals with the subject of racial desegregation in the Nation's capital, and covers a period of approximately twelve years. Chapter titles indicate the areas covered: Integration—A Challenge to Community Agencies and Institutions; Discrimination in the Federal Agencies in Washington, D. C.; Changing Patterns in Employment; The Employment and Utilization of Negro Manpower in the District of Columbia's Government and Private Enterprise; The Practices of Craft Unions in Washington, D. C., With Respect to Minority Groups; Status and Trends in Housing; Public Accommodations in the Nation's Capital, 1947-1958; Public and Private Health and Welfare Agencies — Ten Year's After; The Public School System.

A concluding chapter deals with dynamics and techniques for effecting desegregation. It notes that the most striking thing about the desegregation process in Washington is the fact that the changes have been largely the result of effective work of social action groups. They developed a *modus operandi* for maximizing their effectiveness with a minimum of capriciousness, contention, and confusion. Diverse approaches were used by the various organizations, but the general pattern includes a first phase of assessment and a second phase of social action to effect a change of policy and to end the practice of segregation. The major facets of this phase, are: (1) calling attention to the issue, (2) effective confrontation and negotiation, (3) effective operations (pressure and persuasion), and (4) litigation. Another phase, involving reaction and decision, is crucial, and the final phase, resolution, involves not only desegregation but also integration.

* * *

Green, Reginald H., editor. "THE COLLEGE STUDENT AND THE CHANGING SOUTH." United States National Student Association, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

A report of the Southwide Student Human Relations Conference, sponsored by the U. S. National Student Association, the American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Area Councils of the YMCA, the United Student Christian Conference, Hillel, and the National Federation of Catholic College Students, and held at Pfeiffer College,

Highlights

(Continued)

Misemheimer, North Carolina, November 1959. The conference drew over 120 students from 60 campuses in eleven states, and 30 resource people, speakers, and discussion leaders. Some highlights from the formal presentations, the workshops, and discussion groups:

SEGREGATION, EQUALITY, AND THE SOUTH TODAY

The basic question seems to me what do we really believe. Do we believe in the equality of races, or don't we?

—James McBrideDabbs

I think Negroes are entitled to equal treatment by the law. But that does not mean I think that equality means the same school.

—Thomas Ellis

Nine to ten million people have been on the periphery in every avenue of life, never allowed to participate in the main stream.

—Benjamin Mays

RACE RELATIONS, THE UNIVERSITY, AND THE STUDENT

Any degree of alleged objectivity is hard to achieve and suspect if achieved. We need to have patience and to think carefully not to ask easy, but false, questions and give easy answers. We cannot encourage the belief (that even President Lincoln held) that the problem could be solved without positive action by anyone.

—Weldon James

I feel that it is an age of conformity, yet I wonder if any age was not potentially that. I think it's a question, perhaps, of determination and courage. If any age was saved from being an age of conformity, was it not because there were those individuals who would not let it be so? . . . Students have a peculiar privilege and a peculiar opportunity; they live in a new era and they move in a new era in which it is their right to face these problems.

—Fred Weaver

INDIVIDUAL CHALLENGES, CHANNELS, AND OPPORTUNITIES

The basic issue is not so much the 14th Amendment as the First Commandment . . . The basic question is do we believe in the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, or do we worship at the altar of state sovereignty.

—The Reverend Will Campbell

The conference proved to be an eye-opener. During the 2½ days I came to understand that Negroes can be intelligent, understanding, informed; that they can be my equal or superior; but, above all, I came to understand that they are real persons, that they have feelings and a real desire for community.

—Participant from Segregated White College

You have real problems on your campus (a major state institution facing desegregation). I wouldn't like to be in your position.

—Participant from Segregated Negro College

It is the quality of our thought and of our lives which is really important.

—Warren Ashby

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Nineteen sixty will be a year of great social decisions. I regard public schools as indispensable, and I do not want to see a generation miss its chance at education as did the one in Atlanta's reconstruction days."

Mayor William B. Hartsfield
Atlanta
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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"I have observed in my travels throughout the states that local school boards are now beginning to put forth efforts to solve their desegregation problems with the cooperation of their local PTAs and we feel that our local (NAACP) branch leaders will also cooperate if they are met on an equal basis."

Gloster Current, Manager,
NAACP National Offices,
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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"Even the politicians who seek to exploit racism against education have discovered that closing the schools is an act of political stupidity. It compels people to choose between their prejudices and their children's future, and in this choice the children always win, later if not sooner."

From the CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"An effort to open a private school 'for white pupils only' in Selma, Alabama, has been temporarily abandoned . . . The closing of the Raney School [in Little Rock] and the failure of the Selma private school to get to first base does not mean that the opposition to integrated public schools has languished. It does mean that the people of the South know a private school when they see one and they demand either good public schools or good private schools for their children. They seem to be getting a little weary of subterfuges."

From the CHATTANOOGA TIMES

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"When and if the time comes that we will be faced with the question of closing schools, I believe the administration and the Legislature will face realities and the public education system will continue."

U. S. Rep. Erwin Mitchell
of Georgia
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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"Warren County [Virginia] today is an object lesson. If the governor of Virginia really wants to overcome its lag in industrial development, he can face only in one direction. It is in the direction of public school support."

From the VIRGINIAN-PILOT